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L A R G E
A D D I T I O N S
T O

C O M M O N S E N S E ;

ADDRESSED TO THE INHABITANTS OF AMERICA,
ON THE FOLLOWING INTERESTING SUBJECTS.

- I. The American Patriot's Prayer.
- II. American Independancy defended, by Candidus.
- III. The Propriety of Independancy, by Demophilus.

The dread of Tyrants, and the sole resource
Of those that under grim Oppression groan.

THOMSON.

- IV. A Review of the American Contest, with some
Strictures on the King's Speech. Addressed to all
Parents in the Thirteen United Colonies, by a
Friend to Posterity and Mankind.

- V. Letter to Lord Dartmouth, by an English American.

- VI. Observations on Lord North's Conciliatory Plan,
by Sincerus.

TO WHICH IS ADDED AND GIVEN

An Appendix to Common Sense; Together with an Ad-
dress to the people called Quakers, on their Testimony
concerning Kings and Government, and the present
Commutations in AMERICA.

P H I L A D E L P H I A :

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MDCCLXXVI.

Loring Jacobus

The AMERICAN PATRIOT'S Prayer.

PARENT of all, omnipotent
In heav'n, and earth below,
'Thro' all creation's bounds unspent,
Whose streams of goodness flow.

Teach me to know from whence I rose,
And unto what design'd;
No private aims let me propose,
Since link'd with human kind.

But chief to hear my country's voice,
May all my thoughts incline,
'Tis reason's law, 'tis virtue's choice,
'Tis nature's call and thine.

Me from fair freedom's sacred cause,
Let nothing ever divide;
Grandeur, nor gold, nor vain applause,
Nor friendship false misguide.

Let me not faction's partial hate
Pursue to *this Land's* woe;
Nor grasp the thunder of the state,
To wound a private foe.

If, for the right, to wish the wrong
My country shall combine.
Single to serve th' erron'ous throng,
Spight of themselves, be mine.

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A D D I T I O N S
T O
C O M M O N S E N S E.

AMERICAN INDEPENDANCY *defended.*

WHEN the little pamphlet intitled COMMON SENSE first made its appearance in favor of that so often abjured idea of independance upon Great-Britain, I was informed that no less than three gentlemen of respectable abilities were engaged to answer it. As yet I have seen nothing which directly pretends to dispute a single position of the author. The oblique essay in Humphreys's paper, and solemn Testimony of the Quakers, however intended, having offered nothing to the purpose, I shall take leave to examine this important question, with all candor and attention, and submit the result to my much interested country.

Dependance of one man, or state, upon another, is either absolute, or limited by some certain terms of agreement. The
dependance

dependance of these colonies which Great-Britain calls *constitutional*, as declared by act of Parliament, is absolute. If the contrary of this be the bugbear so many have been declaiming against, I could wish my countrymen would consider the consequence of so stupid a profession. If a limited dependance is intended, I would be much obliged to any one who will shew me the *Britanno-American Magna Charta* wherein the terms of our limited dependance are precisely stated. If no such thing can be found, and *absolute* dependance be accounted inadmissible, the sound we are squabbling about has certainly no determinate meaning. If any say we mean that kind of dependance we acknowledged at and before the year 1763; I answer, *vague and uncertain laws, and more especially* CONSTITUTIONS, are the very instruments of slavery. The Magna Charta of England was very explicit, considering the time it was formed, and yet much blood was spilt in disputes concerning its meaning.

Besides the danger of an indefinite dependance upon an undetermined power, it might be worth while to consider what the characters are on whom we are so ready to acknowledge ourselves dependant. The vo-
taries

taries for this idol tell us, upon the good people of our Mother Country, whom they represent as the most just, humane, and affectionate friends we can have in the world. Were this true, it were some encouragement; but who can pretend ignorance that these just and humane friends are as much under the tyranny of men of a reverse character as we should be, could those miscreants gain their ends? I disclaim any more than a mutual dependance on any man, or number of men upon earth; but an indefinite dependance upon a combination of men, who have, in the face of the sun, broken thro' the most solemn covenants, debauched the hereditary, and corrupted the elective guardians of the people's rights, who have, in fact, established an absolute tyranny in Great-Britain and Ireland, and openly declared themselves *competent to bind the Colonists in all cases whatsoever*: I say indefinite dependance on such a combination of *usurping innovators* is evidently as dangerous to liberty, as fatal to civil and social happiness, as any one step that could be proposed, even by the *destroyer of men*. The utmost that the honest party in Great-Britain can do, is to warn us to avoid this dependance at all hazards! Does not even a Duke of Grafton declare the ministerial measures
 illegal

illegal and dangerous? And shall America, no way connected with this administration, press our submission to such measures, and reconciliation to the authors of them? Would not such pigeon-hearted wretches equally forward the recal of the Stuart family, and the establishment of Popery throughout Christendom, did they conceive the party in favor of those loyal measures the strongest? Shame on the men who can court exemption from present trouble and expence, at the price of their own and posterity's liberty! The honest party in England cannot wish for the reconciliation proposed. It is as unsafe to them as to us, and they thoroughly apprehend it. What check have they now upon the crown, and what shadow of control can they pretend, when the crown can command fifteen or twenty millions a year, which they have nothing to say to? A proper proportion of our commerce is all that can benefit any good man in Britain or Ireland, and God forbid we should be so cruel as to furnish bad men with power to enslave both Britain and America. Administration has now fairly dissolvered the dangerous tie: Execrated will he be by the latest posterity who again joins the fatal cord! But say the puling pusillanimous cowards, we shall be subject to a long and bloody

bloody war, if we declare independance. On the contrary, I affirm it the only step that can bring the contest to a speedy and happy issue. By declaring independance we place ourselves on a footing for an equal negociation: Now we are called a pack of villainous rebels, who, like the St. Vincent Indians, can expect nothing more than a pardon for our lives, and the sovereign favor, respecting freedom and property, *to be at the King's will.* Grant Almighty God that I may be numbered with the dead before that fable day dawn on North-America!

All Europe knows the illegal and inhuman treatment we have received from Britons. All Europe wishes the haughty empress of the main reduced to a more humble deportment. After herself has thrust her Colonies from her, the maritime powers cannot be such idiots as to suffer her to reduce them to a more absolute obedience of her dictates than they were heretofore obliged to yield. Does not the most superficial politician know that while we profess ourselves the subjects of Great-Britain, and yet hold arms against her, they have a right to treat us as rebels, and that according to the laws of nature and nations no other
state

state has a right to interfere in the dispute? But on the other hand, on our declaration of independance, the maritime states at least will find it their interest, which always secures the question of inclination, to protect a people who can be so advantageous to them. So that those short-sighted politicians, who conclude that this step will involve us in slaughter and devastation, may plainly perceive that no measure in our power will so naturally and effectually work our deliverance. The motion of a finger of the Grand Monarch would procure as gentle a temper in the Omnipotent British Minister as appeared in the Manilla ransom and Falkland islands affairs. From without certainly we have every thing to hope, nothing to fear; from within, some tell us the Presbyterians, if freed from the restraining power of Great-Britain, would over-run the peaceable Quakers in this government. For my own part, I despise and detest the bickerings of sectaries, and am apprehensive of no trouble from that quarter, especially while no peculiar honors nor emoluments are annexed to either. I heartily wish too many of the Quakers did not give cause of complaint, by endeavoring to counteract the measures of their fellow citizens for the common safety. If they profess themselves only pilgrims
here,

here, let them walk through the men of this world without interfering with their actions on either side. If they would not *pull down Kings*, let them not *support tyrants*; for whether they understand it or not, there is, and ever has been, an essential difference in the characters.

Finally, with M. De Vattel, I account *a state a moral person having an interest and will of its own*, and I think that state a monster, whose prime mover has an interest and will, in direct opposition to its prosperity and security. This position has been so clearly demonstrated in the pamphlet first mentioned in this essay, that I shall only add, if there are any arguments in favor of returning to a state of dependance on Great-Britain, that is on the present Administration of Great-Britain, I could wish they were timely offered, that they may be soberly considered, before the cunning proposals of the cabinet set all the timid, lazy and irresolute members of the community into a clamor for *peace at any rate*:

CANDIDUS.

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A D D I T I O N S
T O
C O M M O N S E N S E.

The Propriety of INDEPENDANCY.

TO acknowledge that the Creator formed Man for society, and that society cannot subsist without regulations, laws, and government; and at the same time to assert, that in spite of all human care to prevent it, every government will degenerate into a tyranny, is such a daring *blasphemy* of the *divine attributes*, that had I not heard it asserted, and acquiesced in as a truth, I could not have believed such a position could have obtained in a civilized country! This monstrous hypothesis concludes that notwithstanding the Deity had power enough to form such admirable creatures as men and women, and fit them for enjoying of each other a thousand ways, and tho' by means of the most exquisite of those enjoyments a race should arise from them over which every power of rightful government must of necessity be exercised, yet just and rightful government is in reality utopian, imaginary, and impracticable!

N

Did

Did not God cloath the grass, direct the wild Goat and provide for the Sparrow, I might more easily be persuaded to suspect his care of Man.

I readily grant that the delegates of governmental power are too apt to consider themselves the possessors of it *in their own right*, and that they therefore take every means in their power to become the *masters* in place of *servants* to their *constituents*; and that the people in all civilized countries have been too inattentive to the usurpations of their rulers: But I conceive of no cause in the nature of things which so absolutely counteracts the power of a wise, learned, and free community as to render it impossible for them to preserve their liberty. The arguments brought from the condition of other states, are by no means conclusive with respect to the North-American colonies. I am bold to assert, that such a favourable combination of circumstances as they are blessed with at this important conjuncture, never did take place among any people with whom history has made us acquainted. The most just and solid foundation of social happiness was laid in the first settlement of the Continent, *the cultivation*

cultivation of the earth for the subsistence of its proprietor. Here was no feudal tenure from some military Lord ; every cultivator being the lord of his own soil, and content with its produce, had no thoughts of encroaching upon and subjecting his neighbour to his absolute dominion. Hence a handsome competency has enabled the bulk of the people to give their children such an education as enables them to read, and become acquainted with the usurpations of the deepest plotters of their ruin. The spirit of the people for obtaining this necessary information, is evident from the incredible number of news-papers and other periodical publications which they encourage, and the effect of such institutions never have been so great in any community, yet known, as in these *pantaplebean* (*altogether Commons*) colonies. How quickly the most important revolution of the fundamentals of our policy can pervade a continent, may be guessed at by the progress of the idea of Colonial Independancy in three weeks or a month at farthest ! Surely thousands and tens of thousands of common farmers and tradesmen must be better reasoners than some of our trammelled *juris consultors*, who to this hour feel a reluctance to part with the abominable

minable chain, which remaining, in any shape whatever, tho' modified by all the wisdom and caution of the greatest men now living, must in a very little time drag the colonies into the most abject slavery. Many profess themselves zealous for the liberties of America, yet declare an abhorrence of the idea of independancy on Great-Britain. If this be not a solecism, as absurd and irreconcilable as ever was obtruded on mankind, I know not the meaning of the term! *Civil Liberty* never was defined in stricter terms than *an EXEMPTION from all controul, WITHOUT THE COMMUNITY, in which every qualified member has an equal voice.* No American, as such, has the shadow of incorporation with the government of Great-Britain; and in consequence, if he receives the least syllable of law from that quarter, he gives up his claim to the definitive exemption. If the sticklers for *dependance* do not mean dependance for some certain laws, in the forming of which the Colonists have no voice at all, I do not yet understand them; and if they do mean that we should admit the *claim* of any state, or any part of the power of any state, with which the democratic power of this state is not incorporated, to give us law *in any case whatever,* they

they admit a *fibre*, which I must make free to tell them, will speedily grow into an *iron sinew* which neither themselves nor posterity will be able to endure or burst asunder. And further, it is not only the admission of some possible law from a foreign power, that hurries a people into slavery; a meer negative power on acts for the repeal of grievous laws will more slowly, but as certainly subvert liberty.

Again, Mr. Hume's observation, [*Perfect Commonwealth*, p. 301.] that "the sword being in the hands of a single person who will *always neglect to discipline the militia*, in order to have the pretext to *keep up a standing army*;" and the succeeding one, "that this is a *mortal distemper* in the *British* government of which it *must, at last, inevitably perish*," now so fatally confirmed, may be a sufficient warning to the Colonies to *beware of being again entangled with the yoke of bondage*.

Many object to a Republican Government as impracticable in a large state. "The contrary of this (says Hume, [*Per. Com.* 302.] seems evident. Though 'tis more difficult to form a Republican Government
in

in an extensive country than in a city; there is more facility, when once it is formed, of preserving it steady and uniform, without tumult or faction, in the former than the latter. (*Per. Com.* 303.) In a large government which is modelled with masterly skill, there is compass and room enough to refine the democracy from the lower people, who may be admitted into the first elections, or first concoction of the commonwealth; to the higher magistrates who direct all the motions. At the same time the parts are so distant and remote that 'tis very difficult either by intrigue, prejudice, or passion, to hurry them into measures against the public interest." Thus far Mr. Hume, whose plan for a perfect commonwealth, will speedily be submitted to public consideration.

DEMOPHILUS.

A Review of the American Contest, with some STRICTURES ON the KING's speech, and its consequences. ADDRESSED to all PARENTS in the THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES. By a Friend to Posterity and Mankind.

NATURE instructs the brute creation to provide for, guard and protect their offspring until they are able to do for themselves. The dam is never known to forsake her young while her care is necessary for their safety, nor to do any thing which would involve them in distress and difficulty. Man, who has this principle in common with brutes, is endowed with others yet more valuable, but which to him are absolutely necessary, whereby he is taught to provide for the future welfare of his descendants and to guard them from the encroachments of that power which civil society constitutes for its own safety; but which, through the depravity of human nature is often turned against it. There are few parents who do not make it their constant study and earnest endeavour to leave some valuable inheritance to their children :
few

few who have been so lost to the feelings of nature and calls of parental affection, as to entail difficulty and distress on their children, when it was in their power to leave them a fair and easy inheritance. And yet it has so happened, that by an ill timed attachment to the present, without paying proper attention to the future, they have entailed misery upon them by the very means which were designed to preserve them from it.

It is now in your power to bequeath to your children the one or the other, and it becomes you to have an eye to them in all your proceedings. It is sufficiently known to you, that riches in arbitrary states are often the ruin of their possessors, and that security to property is absolutely necessary to stamp their true value on wealth and possessions. He therefore, who wishes to leave his children in flourishing circumstances ought to be a zealous friend to those measures, and that plan of government which gives the greatest security to property, and an active warm opposer of those which leave it to the arbitrary disposal of men, who find a greater advantage in making free with what does not belong to them, than in frugally using what is justly their own.

own. Whig and Tory should be out of the question. Private pique, party faction and animosity ought to subside. He who thinks should think for posterity, and he who acts should act for his children.

It is a great weakness to suffer our passions to take place of our reason and blindly to follow their dictates, though to our manifest hurt, rather than subject them to our better sense. A false pride, which will not acknowledge an error though ever so evident, an obstinate perseverance in our own opinion without deigning to hear advice or instruction, and an unreasonable attachment to party, have done much mischief to mankind, and may yet do more if not carefully avoided. I have directed this paper to you in preference to others, because your parental affection should form more than a counterpoise to every false principle, which can influence the human mind where the interest of your offspring is at stake.

Our present contest is immensely great, and every man must see that it will affect posterity. Its consequences cannot end with itself; but the latest generations must feel its effects. The great Ruler of the universe
 O has

has permitted it for wise purposes, and has called every one of us to act our part in it. It becomes us, therefore, laying aside all former prejudices, partiality and party attachments, to act upon principles which will justify us to him who has assigned us our stations, and cause posterity to bless the memory of their forefathers. We all agree in this, that Great-Britain is unjust and arbitrary, and we have hitherto principally differed in the mode of opposition, which ought to have been pursued. I speak not to those who think one way and talk another. They act upon such base principles, that it is in vain to attempt to rouse in them any just or generous sentiments. We have no instance of the conversion of avaricious or ambitious hypocrites, and it would be wasting time to use arguments to convince them. I direct myself to you who have sincerity sufficient to examine the principles on which you proceed, and honesty enough to pursue that course of conduct which appears to be right, and so much affection for your children as to prefer their interest and happiness to every other consideration. For you I mean to throw together a few hints which may assist you in finally fixing a right choice.

The

The British administration began its attacks on our liberties with a Stamp act, but meeting with strong opposition they thought fit to repeal it. This act threw the colonies into strong convulsions, and we rejoiced exceedingly on its repeal, and fondly hoped that we would enjoy future tranquillity. But we were mistaken. They never intended to relinquish the design, but only to change their ground, that which they first pitched upon not seeming tenable. An American revenue granted by a British Parliament was the object, and they never lost sight of it ; for they soon renewed their attacks upon principles which they thought more favourable to their intentions ; but meeting with as little success in that, as in the preceding attempt, they suspended their measures for a time, in hopes of lulling us into a careless security. They accordingly once more returned to the charge, and endeavoured to effect by cunning and artifice what they had heretofore attempted in vain on every other peaceable plan. This not succeeding, they were reduced to their last shift of bullying and force ; and this they resolved upon. They levied armies, appointed Generals of reputation to command, and sent them amongst us, we may know
their

their commission by their conduct ; for after abusing, brow-beating and insulting, after starving and tarring and feathering, after offering every possible injury which a free people could bear, without obtaining their ends, and every other measure failing, they drew the sword, and at once reduced us to the dire alternative of submitting to their illegal claims of jurisdiction, or entering into the bloody contest. Like men determined to be free we chose the latter. It now rests on the last argument, an argument which finally settles all controversies of a like nature. The plan of operation is now opened, and they who stand to it with the most steady perseverance must finally succeed. This is the decree of Providence in all cases, " he that persevereth unto the end shall be " saved." We have, by the blessing of God, effectually baffled all their former attempts ; but if we fail in this, all our former victories will only serve to make our fall the more conspicuous and terrible.

I will not enquire what would have been the efficacy of any heretofore recommended, but untried means. The worst that can has happened, and it is with it we have now to deal ; to relinquish it on our part, would

would be to give up the matter, for however any means might once have done, cowardice alone would now desert the field, and slavery must be the inevitable consequence.

I do not wonder that war fits heavy on us. and that we are somewhat restless and uneasy; but I shall be surprized, if we, who have so long and so successfully opposed tyranny and oppression should all on a sudden lose every desire of retaining our liberties. I am forced into this remark by the artful, cunning and designing manner in which some men talk of a reconciliation with Great Britain, and the bug-bears they conjure up to frighten the timid, irresolute and ignorant, from a steady prosecution of those means, which alone can help us in our present circumstances. Facts bear evidence from the beginning of the contest that every scheme they ever recommended has, upon trial, proved inadequate to the end for which it was intended; yet they proceed. Beware of such men, they love neither their country, nor their liberties, so much as something else.

There are many I doubt not who are denominated Tories by the more zealous Whigs,

Whigs, who in their hearts wish success to our measures, tho' they may be chagrined because those they proposed did not go down with the people; these are uniform, open, and not very dangerous; but there are others, who under the cloke of friendship for the cause, harbour the bitterest rancour and malice in their hearts. These talk favourably in general, though their discourses mostly terminate with a *doubt*, *suspicion*, or *but*, which gives those with whom they converse, reason to dread some hidden design, or approaching evil, which most men have not properly attended to. They artfully recal your attention to a certain period, when all was peace and quietness, and by pathetically lamenting the unhappy alteration, endeavour to impress your minds with an opinion that all our troubles arose from ourselves. They carefully avoid mentioning the iniquitous measures of the British government which produced them, and by keeping those out of sight, they gradually lead the unwary into the belief, that the men who have been most active on the present occasion in opposing the tyrannical proceedings of Great-Britain, and who have hazarded their all in defence of their country, have been actuated by sinister motives
in

in all they have done. If every man who hears such insinuations were to ask those who cast them out, what measures have not the men they condemn tried at one time or another to avoid the present contest, and save our liberties? What advantages they can reap by a successful end of it, which every other freeman on the continent will not reap equally with them? And in an unsuccessful close of it, all will allow they must be the greatest sufferers. Their lives must go, let who will else escape. These questions might recal them to facts, and these facts would enable men to judge aright.

Honesty could not stand the force of a few pertinent questions, but these men have taken their leave of it, and like Manasseh of old, have sold themselves to do wickedly. Were it not so, could it be possible for them in the face of the sun, to charge all our troubles on the New-England Presbyterians, troubles which originally began and have all along been kept up by a wicked administration and a venal parliament. To make them the hatchers of mischiefs occasioned by unconstitutional acts of parliament, and the only fomenters of our just
opposition

opposition, which a Pennsylvanian Quaker, a Maryland and a Virginian Churchman did more to effect than all the other men on the continent put together, is cruelty in the extreme. My heart bleeds when I think of such men; who would sell the whole continent and all the blood on it for private advantage, and with whom a few thousand guineas with a title would be esteemed an equivalent for the lives, liberty and property of the freemen of a colony. May that God who sees how little they can gain, if successful, open their eyes and turn their hearts, e'er they be convinced by fatal experience, that he who purchases the whole world at the price of his soul, is a very unwise dealer, and makes but a poor bargain in the end. If the calls of virtue, the precepts of religion, and dictates of patriotism cannot awaken them to a sense of their duty, yet Norfolk might open their eyes. But let them do as they please, we ought to act wisely. If we do not make such a settlement now as will secure the privileges we contend for to posterity, we entail either slavery or a civil war on our children. This is certain, let what will be doubtful. Look round you then, view your offspring, and tell me, are you willing to leave them such a legacy?

a legacy? Do not trifle on this occasion, all your other legacies must derive their true value from the part you now take in this contest. Think not that the God who charges him with worse than infidelity who provides not for his own, and those of his household, will justify you in returning to the state you were in when our troubles began, and thereby delivering over your offspring to the mischievous machinations of a power that from the beginning has set right, justice, and mercy at defiance, and in all her deliberations considered nothing but her ability to execute.

Look to the year 1763, that happy period, as many so fondly call it, and see what safety there is to America in such a situation. Lord North has said, "If that is all they want, we are agreed;" and the saying pleases many of you. His Lordship, like others, who have learned wisdom by experience, wishes to have all to begin again, believing that he could more easily effect his purpose by other means than those he is at present pursuing. Swallow the bait and you are undone for ever.

Can

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Can any man in his senses believe, that he who has so long, and so invariably pursued his point against the sense of the best men in the nation, will finally desert his master's most favourite scheme so easily? Has he uttered a single syllable that can make the most credulous believe that he is convinced of the injustice of his conduct? He confesses he was deceived; but wherein lay the deception; In believing that fewer troops would effect a submission than he is now convinced must be employed. Here lay the deception he complains of, and he is therefore determined to send his terms with such an armed force, as he expects will frighten you into a compliance. Does this look like the conduct of one who designs to relinquish his claims? Were he or his master sensible of the injustice of their proceedings and the wrongs they have done us, they would both speak a very different language. Why does he call you rebel? Why call in foreign troops to his aid? Why does his master lament so pathetically, that the extensive operations of the war he means to carry on against you, will exhaust his funds and increase the public debts, while he has not a single tear to shed, not a groan, nor as much as a sigh for all the blood he
has

has already spilt, and yet means to spill, if he wishes to allow you security to your privileges? Oh! George! The day thou utteredst that sentiment in the face of the sun, thou gavest up all title to humanity. “Among the many unavoidable ill consequences of this rebellion, none affects me more sensibly,” says the King. “than the extraordinary burthen it must create to my faithful subjects.” “Most humane Prince! most pious Sovereign! most affectionate father of thy people! an addition to thy British subjects burthens to obtain a most unrighteous purpose of thy own, affects thee in order to reconcile them to the bearing of it; but to spill the blood of thy oppressed American subjects disturbs not thy guiltless conscience! Let me tell thee, O King, that there is a God who sees through the veil that covers thy deceit, and who hears the cry of the needy, and regards the prayer of the distressed, who will recompence vengeance on the wicked, though supported by the power of Great Britain. Our weakness is sufficient in his hands for the purpose. If thine and thy ministers intentions are not evil against us, why didst thou not hearken to the repeated prayers of thy distressed subjects in America?

rica? why dost thou not recal thy troops, repeal the acts, indemnify us for what we have suffered, and offer any further security to our rights, which we may think necessary? Thou beganest the attack and this is thy duty; besides, thou hast an obedient parliament, which disputes not thy will, and all this is in thy power, and in no one's else." Had the King made a speech to the house recommending these things, he would have given unequivocal proof of his honest intentions, and it might justly be termed gracious. But who can trust a Prince, who while he speaks the language of peace and humanity with his lips, has nothing but cruelty and war in his conduct. The man who does, may have the innocence of the dove, but he cannot be possessed of the wisdom of the serpent. I conclude by entreating you, that as you love your children, and their happiness, you never desert your present opposition, until you obtain such a plan of constitutional vigour, as shall put it at all times in your power to secure yourselves, and your descendants from tyrannical encroachments. This you never had, nor never can have on the plan of your former dependance. Remember, I call the Deity to witness, that I have warned
you

you against destroying your offspring, and prayed you to be on your guard against the snares of the insidious. May he who acts from a principle of humanity and benevolence to mankind, finally meet with success, and may the schemes of hypocrites be blasted.

A Friend to Posterity and Mankind.

*To the Right Honorable Lord DARTMOUTH,
Secretary of State for AMERICA.*

Philadelphia, Jan. 1, 1776.

My Lord,

YOU are the minister of the American department. You have the character of a religious man, a rare virtue in a modern statesman. It has become my duty and interest to address you, on the present circumstances of affairs in America. I know the Americans well; their strongest and ruling passion was their affection to their mother country; the honour, the glory of Great Britain they esteemed as their greatest happiness; a large portion of the same affection remains; nothing but repeated injuries and injustice

injustice could have lessened it. My Lord from a wanton and avaricious exercise of power, the ministry of Great Britain have heaped injuries on the heads of the Americans, that no one period of history can parallel.

The practice of the Egyptians in smothering the children of the Israelites in the birth, the swords of Cortez and Pizarro, who slew millions of innocent Mexicans and Peruvians, the dreadful famine brought by the East India company upon the poor East-Indians must all be brought into one scale, to serve as any sort of balance to the system of desolation, that you and your brother ministers, are meditating and daily practising against the unhappy people of North America.

The elements, which the providence of God hath given for all his creatures, you have the presumption to deprive them of, Fire, sword, famine, and desolation, shew the vicinity of your fleets and armies; children and servants are animated to rise and slaughter their benefactors. No species of cruelty, which the wit or malice of man or devils could devise, but are practised against the Americans.

Do

COMMON SENSE. III

Do you believe in God, my Lord, and direct these things? Do you believe that God made America as well as Great-Britain? If you do, ponder, consider well, what answer you will give if you escape punishment in this world, when you come to be questioned before the Throne of God, for the destruction you have made of his creatures, the work of his hands, to whom he granted life and liberty, earth, air and water equally as to yourself: and yet presumptuous man, you have dared to counteract his providence! Have you conscience my Lord? If you have, I would not for the empire of a thousand worlds, be Lord Dartmouth? But, my Lord, it is not to awaken your conscience *only* that I write you this letter: the flame of civil war, by your management, hath extended far and wide in America; battles have been fought, numbers have been slain, and prisoners taken on both sides; the Americans have in their possession ten for one, and among them many men of rank, Prescott, Preston, Stopford, and others; they are all treated with tenderness and regard, while the prisoners you have taken are treated with severity, carried to England in irons, there, as it is said, to be tried, and of course condemned
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and executed, or in other words, under form of law murdered !

My Lord, if there be any thing on earth or in heaven that you respect, avoid that rock—You have Col. Allen, Capt Martindale and some other prisoners—the hour that it is known here that any of those prisoners are executed, the prisoners here will be sacrificed—nay more, every English and Scots adherent;—dread shun, and for ever abandon such murderous intentions.—The cries and vengeance of all the relations of those whose blood shall be shed in this manner will surround you, death and horror will be your constant companions, and the torments of the damned, even on earth, will await you.—

My Lord, this is but the beginning of sorrows. Take in good part what I write. It is truth, and intended for the benefit of Britain and America.

AN ENGLISH AMERICAN.

*Observations on LORD NORTH's Conciliatory
P L A N.*

I CANNOT recal an idea to my mind more amazingly absurd and stupid than the idea of Lord North's second attempt to gull the Colonists into a belief of his inclination to hold out to them terms of a safe and amicable reconciliation, with Great Britain. No one is ignorant that the Americans have offered every thing that can possibly be devised to bury the injurious and enslaving claim of administration, in perpetual oblivion, and leave matters on the same footing they were before the pretence was held up. Those generous proposals, however often repeated, have as often been rejected with an insolent contempt, and yet the *profound politician* tells his opponents in the British House of Commons, that he is heartily inclined to a reconciliation with the Colonies, and willing to put them in the situation they so passionately desire; that is, says he, to a courtier demanding explanation, *in a state of absolute dependance on the British Parliament in all cases whatsoever*; for, says his Lordship, they were unquestionably thus dependant

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in 1763 Had his Lordship entirely forgot the success of his former experiment, perhaps a trial of the same wretched *trick* over again, might have appeared less ridiculous. I may indeed say, less insulting to the lowest understanding. I would ask the most credulous votary for making up the dispute, what *possible grounds* they perceive to found their expectation of a permanent reconciliation upon? Has any thing lately turned up, which has indicated a change of disposition in the Prince or his favorites? Can a majority, which have been secured from one seven years to another, by pure force of corruption, be depended on to remain firm to a slaughtering, plundering and desolating court, and share the detestation of present and future ages, for mere nothing? Has the court resolved to cast Bernard, Hutchinson and daughter, Richardson the murderer, crazy John Malcolm, and Richardson the recent volunteer, out on the common? I tell you, nay! You have a fresh instance of the firmness of the cabinet, in adding another three thousand pound pensioner to the list, in a conjuncture, when all mankind will confess there is need of saving. These burthensome pensions must come from some part of
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of the dominions ! If Great Britain and Ireland have conceived such a mortal hatred to America, that they can hug her most inveterate enemies in their bosoms. and vote them such munificent rewards for drawing her into so destructive a civil war, we cannot be safe in the power of such enemies. If they abound in resources as largely as Mr. Wedderburne and others boast they do, let them cease complaining of their poverty, and contentedly discharge their own national debt, rather than go on augmenting it by their efforts to saddle it, with an unlimited pension list, on America. Does the nation bear the weight of the present unnatural quarrel with America on other terms, than a firm assurance of the Court, that millions of leading men's dependants shall be provided for in America, for whom places can by no means be found at home. Is not the very genius of the people of Great Britain and Ireland corrupted, in so much, that the views of young fellows of education, or any connection with men of note, are altogether set on public money ? Can our peaceable men indulge a gleam of hope, that this humour will alter, or that youths, bred in idleness and dissipation, will become industrious and disinterested patriots

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triot? If not, they must then be so weak as to conceit, that ministers will become less fond of fingering the public money, and securing themselves in places of power and profit by means of it; indeed, that they will become more honest and saving of the national money than those the constitution has appointed as a check upon them. It is no wonder they tell of sending a formidable fleet and army to bring over their terms of reconciliation, when they are in no one article different from the terms they first aimed to impose. Had the minister, or more properly the obstinate author of all our troubles, had the remotest idea of favouring us with a government of laws, which had any respect to the security of our lives and properties, he had long since granted with a good grace, petitions, made and repeated with the most dutiful persevering affection, which asked for nothing more! *Sed aut Cæsar aut nullus*, seems the unalterable determination of the man, who soothed our already elated expectations, by an inaugural declaration, that he *gloried* in the name of Briton, at that time, a distinctive characteristic of the patrons of universal liberty. If therefore the whole body of the governing, and influential part of the governed

vernal in Great Britain, be unalterably set upon extorting tribute from the Colonies; and the better to secure the collection of it, claims right to impose the laws, and executors of those laws, dependant only on themselves for appointment, continuance and support; and all these to be extended at their sole pleasure, it may readily be determined in what condition, the absolutely passive subjects of such an unnatural usurpation would quickly be. It is evident they have concluded on two things, viz. to make a bold push for our entire subjection, as their ends would be thereby more readily answered; but that being found impracticable, we are to be tried with negociation, in which all the craft, duplicity and punic faith of administration is to be expected. Pray God it may be wisely and firmly guarded against! The worthy and honourable John Collins, Esq; of Newport, Rhode Island, on the arrival of Lord North's last conciliatory plan, observed, that notwithstanding the exposure of his large estate, to whatever depredations the enemy saw fit to make upon it, he was more concerned for the probable success of their arts than arms. Had the Americans in general the wisdom and firmness of that gentleman, matters would never have come to the present

sent melancholy lengths we find them. However, in the great and general plan of him who putteth down and setteth up states, this is doubtless an indispensable part, and therefore not to be complained of; but it has amazed me to contemplate the numerous instances of disappointment our enemies have met with, in every plot they have laid for our destruction. How did Bernard and Hutchinson flatter themselves with the number of friends they had in several towns of the Massachusetts, and thought that a very trifling force, from the other side of the water, added to their minions, dependants and expectants, would crush a little turbulent faction, who disturbed their darling measures? Certainly men intoxicated with a lust of absolute power found something in the appearance of things to tole them on to an object so grateful to their fondest wishes; otherwise they would have been contented to augment and confirm their power by such unperceived degrees that the *happy days*, many tell us we have enjoyed under a continually invading usurpation, would not yet have been so sensibly interrupted. No less has the so often extolled Governor Tryon been disappointed in his benevolent intentions respecting New-York. His band
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on Long Island, and on the east side of Hudson's river, with Sir John Johnson among his vassals, and the Indians, gave him great hopes of having matters in a fine train before the invincible armada arrived in the spring; instead of which, it is probable the active General Lee will so fortify that place, that all the force they can send against it, will be insufficient to reduce it. Dunmore, with all his wanton ravage, has done little more than exasperate the Virginians. and convinced that brave colony, that they can be formidable to savages on the east, as well as west side of their dominion. Carleton's Canadians, make no such figure in the harrangues of the pensioner, as they did last year; and in case foreigners are to be procured to be poured in upon us, the greatest opposers of our total separation from Britain acknowledge, they would then no longer defer a declaration of independancy, and application to other powers for their protection. To this the whole scene appears rapidly advancing, in my view, as hastily as infinite wisdom thinks proper to conduct it; and if this be his most gracious design, he will work, and none shall hinder. Amen, Beneficent Jehovah! Amen. *Sic sperat.*

SINCERUS.

*The following Additions are those published in the new
Edition of Common Sense.*

Postscript to the Introduction.

THE Publication of this new Edition hath been delayed, with a view of taking notice (had it been necessary) of any attempt to refute the doctrine of Independance: as no answer hath yet appeared, it is now presumed that none will, the Time needful for getting such a performance ready for the public being considerably past.

Who the author of this production is, is wholly unnecessary to the public, as the object for attention is the *doctrine itself*, not the *man*. Yet it may not be unnecessary to say, that he is unconnected with any party, and under no sort of influence public or private, but the influence of reason and principle.

Philadelphia, February 14, 1776.

More Additions.

Page 47. line 8. from the top, is now added, after 1775, (*Massacre of Lexington.*)

Page 74. line 8. from the top is now added after the word A, (*firm bargain and*)

N. B. The remainder of the additions being calculations from Entick's Naval History concerning Ship-building, are given at the end of this Appendix.

A P P E N D I X
T O
C O M M O N S E N S E.

The necessity of INDEPENDANCY.

SINCE the publication of the first edition of this pamphlet, or rather on the same day on which it came out, the King's Speech made its appearance in this city. Had the spirit of prophecy directed the birth of this production, it could not have brought it forth, at a more seasonable juncture, or a more necessary time. The bloody mindedness of the one, shew the necessity of pursuing the doctrine of the other. Men read by way of revenge. And the Speech, instead of terrifying, prepared a way for the manly principles of Independance.

Ceremony, and even silence, from whatever motive they may arise, have a hurtful tendency, when they give the least degree of countenance to base and wicked performances; wherefore, if this maxim

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be admitted, it naturally follows, that the King's Speech, as being a piece of finished villainy, deserved, and still deserves, a general execration, both by the Congress and the people. Yet, as the domestic tranquillity of a nation, depends greatly on the *chastity* of what may properly be called NATIONAL MANNERS, it is often better, to pass some things over in silent disdain, than to make use of such new methods of dislike, as might introduce the least innovation, on that guardian of our peace and safety. And, perhaps, it is chiefly owing to this prudent delicacy, that the King's Speech hath not, before now, suffered a public execution. The speech, if it may be called one, is nothing better than a wilful audacious libel against the truth, the common good, and the existence of mankind; and is a formal and pompous method of offering up human sacrifices, to the pride of tyrants. But this general massacre of mankind, is one of the privileges, and the certain consequence of king's; for as nature knows them *not*, they know *not her*, and although they are beings of our *own* creating, they know not *us*, and are become the gods of their creators. The speech hath one good quality

quality, which is, that it is not calculated to deceive, neither can we, even if we would, be deceived by it. Brutality and tyranny appear on the face of it. It leaves us at no loss: And every line convinces, even in the moment of reading, that he, who hunts the woods for prey, the naked and untutored Indian, is less a Savage than the King of Britain.

Sir John Dalrymple, the putative father of a whining jesuitical piece, fallaciously called, "*The address of the people of England, to the Inhabitants of America*," hath, perhaps, from a vain supposition, that the people *here* were to be frightened at the pomp and description of a king, giving, (though very unwisely on his part) the real character of the present one: "But," says this writer, "if you are inclined to pay compliments to an administration which we do not complain of, (meaning the Marquis of Rockingham's at the repeal of the Stamp act,) it is very unfair in you to withhold them from that prince by *whose* NOD ALONE, *they were permitted to do any thing.*" This is toryism with a witness! Here is idolatry even without a mask: And he who can calmly hear and digest such doctrine, hath

hath forfeited his claim to rationality—an apostate from the order of manhood, and ought to be considered—as one, who hath not only given up the proper dignity of man, but sunk himself beneath the rank of animals, and contemptibly crawl through the world like a worm.

However, it matters very little now, what the king of England either says or does; he hath wickedly broken through every moral and human obligation, trampled nature and conscience beneath his feet; and by a steady and constitutional spirit of insolence and cruelty, procured for himself an universal hatred. It is *now* the interest of America to provide for herself. She hath already a large and young family, whom it is more her duty to take care of, than to be granting away her property, to support a power, who is become a reproach to the names of men and christians.—YE, whose office it is to watch over the morals of a nation, of whatsoever sect or denomination ye are of, as well as ye, who, are more immediately the guardians of the public liberty, if ye wish to preserve your native country uncontaminated by European corruption, ye must in secret wish a separation.—But leaving
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the moral part to private reflection, I shall chiefly confine my farther remarks to the following heads :

First, That it is the interest of America, to be separated from Britain.

Secondly, Which is the easiest and most practicable plan, RECONCILIATION or INDEPENDANCE? with some occasional remarks.

In support of the first, I could, if I judged it proper, produce the opinion of some of the ablest and most experienced men on this continent; and whose sentiments, on that head, are not yet publicly known. It is in reality a self evident position: For no nation, in a state of foreign dependance, limited in its commerce, and cramped and fettered in its legislative powers, can ever arrive at any material eminence. America doth not yet know what opulence is; and although the progress which she hath made, stands unparalleled in the history of other nations, it is but childhood, compared with what she would be capable of arriving at, had she, as she ought to have, the legislative powers in her own hands.

England,

England, is at this time, proudly coveting what would do her no good, were she to accomplish it; and the Continent hesitating on a matter, which will be her final ruin if neglected. It is the commerce, and not the conquest of America, by which England is to be benefited, and that would in a great measure continue, were the countries as independant of each other as France and Spain; because in many articles, neither can go to a better market. But it is the independance of this country on Britain or any other, which is now the main and only object worthy of contention, and which, like all other truths discovered by necessity, will appear clearer and stronger every day.

First. Because it will come to that one time or other,

Secondly. Because the longer it is delayed, the harder it will be to accomplish.

I have frequently amused myself both in public and private companies, with silently remarking the specious errors of those who speak without reflecting. And among the many which I have heard, the following

ing seems the most general, viz. that had this rupture happened forty or fifty years hence, instead of *now*, the Continent would have been more able to have shaken off the dependance. To which I reply, that our military ability *at this time*, arises from the experience gained in the last war, and which in forty or fifty years time, would have been totally extinct. The Continent would not, by that time, have had a General, or even a military officer left; and we, or those who may succeed us, would have been as ignorant of martial matters as the ancient Indians: And this single position, closely attended to, will unanswerably prove, that the present time is preferable to all others: The argument turns thus:—At the conclusion of the last war, we had experience, but wanted numbers; and forty or fifty years hence, we should have numbers, without experience; wherefore, the proper point of time, must be some particular point between the two extremes, in which a sufficiency of the former remains, and a proper encrease of the latter is obtained: And that point of time is the present time.

The reader will pardon this digression, as it does not properly come under the head

head I first set out with, and to which I again return by the following position, viz.

Should affairs be patched up with Britain, and she to remain the governing and sovereign power of America, (which as matters are now circumstanced, is giving up the point entirely) we shall deprive ourselves of the very means of sinking the debt we have, or may contract. The value of the back lands, which some of the provinces are clandestinely deprived of, by the unjust extention of the limits of Canada, valued only at five pounds sterling per hundred acres, amount to upwards of twenty five millions, Pennsylvania currency; and the quit-rents at one penny sterling per acre, to two millions yearly.

It is by the sale of those lands, that the debt may be sunk, without burthen to any, and the quit-rent reserved thereon, will always lessen, and in time will wholly support the yearly expence of government. It matters not how long the debt is in paying, so that the lands when sold, be applied to the discharge of it, and for the execution of which, the Congress for the time being, will be the continental trustees.

I proceed now to the second head, viz. Which is the easiest and most practicable plan, RECONCILIATION OR INDEPENDANCE ; with some occasional remarks,

He who takes nature for his guide, is not easily beaten out of his argument, and on that ground, I answer generally—*That INDEPENDANCE being a SINGLE SIMPLE LINE, contained within ourselves ; and reconciliation, a matter exceedingly perplexed and complicated, and in which, a treacherous capricious court is to interfere, gives the answer without a doubt.*

The present state of America is truly alarming to every man who is capable of reflection. Without law, without government, without any other mode of power than what is founded on, and granted by courtesy. Held together by an unexampled concurrence of sentiment, which, is nevertheless subject to change, and which, every secret enemy is endeavouring to dissolve. Our present condition, is, Legislation without law ; wisdom without a plan ; a constitution without a name ; and, what is strangely astonishing, perfect Independance contending for dependance. The instance

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is without a precedent; the case never existed before; and who can tell what may be the event? The property of no man is secure in the present unbraced system of things. The mind of the multitude is left at random, and seeing no fixed object before them, they pursue such as fancy or opinion starts. Nothing is criminal; there is no such thing as treason; wherefore, every one thinks himself at liberty to act as he pleases. The Tories would not have dared to assemble offensively, had they known that their lives, by that act, were forfeited to the laws of the state. A line of distinction should be drawn, between English soldiers taken in battle, and inhabitants of America taken in arms. The first are prisoners, but the latter traitors. The one forfeits his liberty, the other his head.

Notwithstanding our wisdom, there is a visible feebleness in some of our proceedings, which gives encouragement to dissensions. The Continental Belt is too loosely buckled. And if something is not done in time, it will be too late to do any thing, and we shall fall into a state, in which, neither *Reconciliation* nor *Independance* will be practicable. The king and his worth-
less.

less adherents are got at the old game of dividing the Continent, and there are not wanting among us, Printers, who will be busy in spreading specious falsehoods. The artful and hypocritical letter, which appeared a few months ago, in two of the New-York papers, and likewise in two others, is an evidence, that there are men who want either judgement or honesty.

It is easy getting into holes and corners, and talking of reconciliation : But do such men seriously consider, how difficult the task is, and how dangerous it may prove, should the Continent divide thereon. Do they take within their view, all the various orders of men, whose situation and circumstances, as well as their own, are to be considered therein. Do they put themselves in the place of the sufferer, whose *all* is *already* gone, and of the soldier, who hath quitted *all* for the defence of his country. If their ill judged moderation be suited to their own private situations *only*, regardless of others, the event will convince them, that “ they are reckoning without their host.”

Put

Put us, say some, upon the footing we were on in sixty-three: To which I answer, the request is not *now* in the power of Britain to comply with, neither will she propose it; but if it were, and even should be granted, I ask, as a reasonable question, By what means is such a corrupt and faithless court to be kept to its engagements? Another parliament, nay, even the present, may hereafter repeal the obligation, on the pretence of its being violently obtained, or unwisely granted; and in that case, Where is our redress?—No going to law with nations; cannon are the barri-
sterns of crowns; and the sword, not of justice, but of war, decides the suit. To be on the footing of sixty-three, it is not sufficient, that the laws only be put on the same state, but that our circumstances, likewise be put on the same state; our burnt and destroyed towns repaired or built up, our private losses made good, our public debts (contracted for defence) discharged, otherwise, we shall be millions worse, than we were at that enviable period. Such a request, had it been complied with a year ago, would have won the heart and soul of the Continent, but now it is too late. “The Rubicon is passed.”

Besides

Besides the taking up arms, merely to enforce the repeal of a pecuniary law, seems as unwarrantable by the divine law, and as repugnant to human feelings, as the taking up arms to enforce the obedience thereto. The object, on either side, doth not justify the means; for the lives of men are too valuable, to be cast away on such trifles. It is the violence which is done and threatened to our persons; the destruction of our property by an armed force; the invasion of our country by fire and sword, which conscientiously qualifies the use of arms: And the instant, in which such a mode of defence became necessary, all subjection to Britain ought to have ceased; and the independancy of America, should have been considered, as dating its æra from, and published by, *the first musket that was fired against her*. This line is a line of consistency; neither drawn by caprice, nor extended by ambition; but produced by a chain of events, of which the colonies were not the authors.

I shall conclude these remarks, with the following timely and well intended hints. We ought to reflect, that there are three different ways, by which an independancy
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may hereafter be affected; and that *one* of those *three*, will one day or other, be the fate of America, viz. By the legal voice of the people in Congress; by a military power; or by a mob: It may not always happen that our soldiers are citizens, and the multitude a body of reasonable men; virtue, as I have already remarked, is not hereditary, neither is it perpetual. Should an independancy be brought about by the first of those means, we have every opportunity and every encouragement before us, to form the noblest purest constitution on the face of the earth. We have it in our power to begin the world over again. A situation, similar to the present, hath not happened since the days of Noah until now. The birth day of a new world is at hand, and a race of men, perhaps as numerous as all Europe contains, are to receive their portion of freedom from the event of a few months. The reflexion is awful and in this point of view, how trifling, how ridiculous, do the little, paltry cavillings, of a few weak or interested men appear, when weighed against the business of a world.

Should we neglect the present favorable and inviting period, and an independance
be

be hereafter effected by any other means, we must charge the consequence to ourselves, or to those rather, whose narrow and prejudiced souls, are habitually opposing the measure, without either inquiring or reflecting. There are reasons to be given in support of independance, which men should rather privately think of, than be publicly told of. We ought not now to be debating whether we shall be independant or not, but, anxious to accomplish it on a firm, secure, and honorable basis, and uneasy rather that it is not yet began upon. Every day convinces us of its necessity. Even the Tories (if such beings yet remain among us) should, of all men, be the most solicitous to promote it; for as the appointment of committees at first, protected them from popular rage, so, a wise and well established form of government, will be the only certain means of continuing it securely to them. *Wherefore*, if they have not virtue enough to be WHIGS, they ought to have prudence enough to wish for Independance.

In short, Independance is the only BOND that can tye and keep us together. We shall then see our object, and our ears will be legally shut against the schemes of an intriguing

triguing, as well, as a cruel enemy. We shall then too, be on a proper footing, to treat with Britain; for there is reason to conclude, that the pride of that court, will be less hurt by treating with the American states for terms of peace, than with those, whom she denominates, "rebellious subjects," for terms of accomodation. It is our delaying it that encourages her to hope for conquest, and our backwardness tends only to prolong the war. As we have, without any good effect therefrom, withheld our trade to obtain a redress of our grievances, let us now try the alternative, by *independantly* redressing them ourselves, and then offering to open the trade. The mercantile and reasonable part in England, will be still with us; because, peace with trade, is preferable to war without it. And if this offer be not accepted, other courts may be applied to.

On these grounds I rest the matter. And as no offer hath yet been made to refute the doctrine contained in the former editions of this pamphlet, it is a negative proof, that either the doctrine cannot be refuted, or, that the party in favour of it are too numerous to be opposed. WHEREFORE, instead
of

of gazing at each other with suspicious or doubtful curiosity, let each of us hold out to his neighbour the hearty hand of friendship, and unite in drawing a line, which, like an act of oblivion shall bury in forgetfulness every former dissention. Let the names of Whig and Tory be extinct; and let none other be heard among us, than those of *a good citizen, an open and resolute friend, and a virtuous supporter of the RIGHTS of MANKIND and of the FREE AND INDEPENDANT STATES OF AMERICA.*

To the Representatives of the Religious Society of the People called Quakers, or to so many of them as were concerned in publishing a late piece, entitled "The
 " ANCIENT TESTIMONY and PRINCI-
 " PLES of the People called QUAKERS
 " renewed, with Respect to the KING
 " and GOVERNMENT, and touching the
 " COMMOTIONS now prevailing in these
 " and other parts of AMERICA addressed
 " to the PEOPLE IN GENERAL".

THE Writer of this, is one of those few, who never dishonors religion either by ridiculing, or cavilling at
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any denomination whatsoever. To God, and not to man, are all men accountable on the score of religion. Wherefore, this epistle is not so properly addressed to you as a religious, but as a political body, dabbling in matters, which the professed Quitude of your Principles instruct you not to meddle with.

As you have, without a proper authority for so doing, put yourselves in the place of the whole body of the Quakers, so, the writer of this, in order to be on an equal rank with yourselves, is under the necessity, of putting himself in the place of all those, who, approve the very writings and principles, against which, your testimony is directed : And he hath chosen this singular situation, in order, that you might discover in him that presumption of character which you cannot see in yourselves. For neither he nor you can have any claim or title to *Political Representation*.

When men have departed from the right way, it is no wonder that they stumble and fall. And it is evident from the manner in which ye have managed your testimony, that politics, (as a religious body of men) is not your proper Walk ; for however well adapted it might appear to you, it is, nevertheless,

vertheless, a jumble of good and bad put unwisely together, and the conclusion drawn therefrom, both unnatural and unjust.

The two first pages, (and the whole doth not make four) we give you credit for, and expect the same civility from you, because the love and desire of peace is not confined to Quakerism, it is the natural, as well as, the religious wish of all denominations of men. And on this ground, as men laboring to establish an Independant Constitution of our own, do we exceed all others in our hope, end, and aim. *Our plan is peace forever.* We are tired of contention with Britain, and can see no real end to it but in a final separation. We act consistently, because for the sake of introducing an endless and uninterrupted peace, do we bear the evils and burthens of the present day. We are endeavoring, and will steadily continue to endeavor, to separate and dissolve a connexion which hath already filled our land with blood; and which, while the name of it remains, will be the fatal cause of future mischiefs to both countries.

We fight neither for revenge nor conquest; neither from pride nor passion; we
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are not insulting the world with our fleets and armies, nor ravaging the globe for plunder. Beneath the shade of our own vines are we attacked; in our own houses, and on our own lands, is the violence committed against us. We view our enemies in the character of Highwaymen and House-breakers, and having no defence for ourselves in the civil law, are obliged to punish them by the military one, and apply the sword, in the very case, where you have before now applied the halter——Perhaps we feel for the ruined and insulted sufferers in all and every part of the Continent, with a degree of tenderness which hath not yet made its way into some of your bosoms. But be ye sure that ye mistake not the cause and ground of your testimony. Call not coldness of soul, religion; nor put the Bigot in the place of the Christian.

O ye partial ministers of your own acknowledged principles. If the bearing arms be sinful, the first going to war must be more so, by all the difference between wilful attack and unavoidable defence. Wherefore, if ye really preach from conscience, and mean not to make a political hobby-horse of your religion, convince
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the world thereof by proclaiming your doctrine to our enemies, *for they likewise bear ARMS.* Give us proof of your sincerity by publishing it at St. James's, to the Commanders in chief at Boston, to the Admirals and Captains who are piratically ravaging our coasts, and to all the murdering miscreants who are acting in authority under HIM whom ye profess to serve. Had ye the honest soul of * BARCLAY ye would preach repentance to your king; Ye would tell the Royal Wretch his sins, and warn him of eternal ruin. ye would not
spend

* “ Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity; thou
 “ knowest what it is to be banished thy native country, to
 “ be over-ruled as well as to rule, and sit upon the throne;
 “ and being *oppressed* thou hast reason to know how *bate-
 ful* the *oppressor* is both to God and man: If after all
 “ these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn
 “ unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who
 “ remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to
 “ follow lust and vanity, surely great will be thy condem-
 “ nation.—Against which snare, as well as the temptati-
 “ on of those who may or do feed thee, and prompt thee
 “ to evil, the most excellent and prevalent remedy will be,
 “ to apply thyself to that light of Christ which shineth in
 “ thy conscience, and which neither can, nor will flatter
 “ thee, nor suffer thee to be at ease in thy sins.”

Barclay's Address to Charles II.

spend your partial invectives against the injured and the insulted only, but, like faithful ministers, would cry aloud and *spare none*. Say not that ye are persecuted, neither endeavour to make us the authors of that reproach, which, ye are bringing upon yourselves ; for we testify unto all men, that we do not complain against you because ye are *Quakers*, but because ye pretend to *be* and are NOT *Quakers*.

Alas ! it seems by the particular tendency of some part of your testimony, and other parts of your conduct, as if, all sin was reduced to, and comprehended in, *the act of bearing arms*, and that by the *people only*. Ye appear to us, to have mistaken party for conscience ; because, the general tenor of your actions wants uniformity : And it is exceedingly difficult to us to give credit to many of your pretended scruples ; because, we see them made by the same men, who, in the very instant that they are exclaiming against the mammon of this world, are nevertheless, hunting after it with a step as steady as Time, and an appetite as keen as Death.

The quotation which ye have made from Proverbs, in the third page of your testimony, that, “ when a man’s ways please
“ the

“ the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to
 “ be at peace with him ;” is very unwisely
 chosen on your part ; because, it amounts
 to a proof, that the king’s ways (whom ye
 are so desirous of supporting) do *not* please
 the Lord, otherwise, his reign would be in
 peace.

I now proceed to the latter part of your
 testimony, and that, for which all the fore-
 going seems only an introduction, viz.

“ It hath ever been our judgment and
 principle, since we were called to profess
 the light of Christ Jesus, manifested in our
 consciences unto this day, that the setting up
 and putting down kings and governments,
 is God’s peculiar prerogative ; for causes
 best known to himself : And that it is not
 our business to have any hand or contriv-
 ance therein ; nor to be busy bodies above
 our station, much less to plot and contrive
 the ruin, or overturn of any of them, but to
 pray for the king, and safety of our nation,
 and good of all men : That we may live a
 peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and
 honesty, ; *under the government which God
 is pleased to set over us*”—If these are really
 your principles why do you not abide by
 them ? Why do you not leave that, which
 ye call God’s Work, to be managed by
 himself ?

himself? These very principles instruct you to wait with patience and humility, for the event of all public measures, and to receive that event as the divine will towards you. *Wherefore*, what occasion is there for your *political testimony* if you fully believe what it contains? And the very publishing it proves, that either, ye do not believe what ye profess, or have not virtue enough to practise what ye believe.

The principles of Quakerism have a direct tendency to make a man the quiet and inoffensive subject of any, and every government which is set over him. And if the setting up and putting down of kings and governments is God's peculiar prerogative, he most certainly will not be robbed thereof by us; wherefore, the principle itself leads you to approve of every thing, which ever happened, or may happen to kings as being his work. Oliver Cromwell thanks you. Charles, then, died not by the hands of man; and should the present proud Imitator of him, come to the same untimely end, the writers and publishers of the testimony, are bound by the doctrine it contains, to applaud the fact. Kings are not taken away by miracles, neither are changes in governments brought about by
any

any other means than such as are common and human ; and such as we are now using. Even the dispersion of the Jews, though foretold by our Saviour, was effected by arms. Wherefore, as ye refuse to be the means on one side, ye ought not to be meddlers on the other ; but to wait the issue in silence ? and unless ye can produce divine authority, to prove, that the Almighty who hath created and placed this new world at the greatest distance it could possibly stand, east and west, from every part of the old, doth, nevertheless, disapprove of its being independant of the corrupt and abandoned court of Britain, unless I say, ye can shew this, how can ye on the ground of your principles, justify the exciting and stirring up the people “ firmly to unite in
“ the *abhorrence* of all such *writings*, and
“ *measures*, as evidence a desire and design
“ to break off the *happy* connexion we have
“ hitherto enjoyed, with the kingdom of
“ Great-Britain, and our just and necessary
“ subordination to the king, and those who
“ are lawfully placed in authority under
“ him.” What a slap of the face is here ! The men, who in the very paragraph before, have quietly and passively resigned up the ordering, altering, and disposal of kings
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and governments, into the hands of God, are now recalling their principles, and putting in for a share of the business. Is it possible, that the conclusion, which is here justly quoted, can any ways follow from the doctrine laid down? The inconsistency is too glaring not to be seen; the absurdity too great not to be laughed at; and such as could only have been made by those, whose understandings were darkened by the narrow and crabbed spirit of a despairing political party; for ye are not to be considered as the whole body of the Quakers, but only as a factional and fractional part thereof.

Here ends the examination of your testimony; (which I call upon no man to abhor, as ye have done, but only to read and judge of fairly;) to which I subjoin the following remark; "That the setting up and putting down of kings," most certainly mean, the making him a king, who is yet not so, and the making him no king who is already one. And pray what hath this to do in the present case? We neither mean to *set up* nor to *pull down*, neither to *make* nor to *unmake*, but to have nothing to do with them. Wherefore, your testimony in whatever light it is viewed serves only to dishonor your judgment.

judgment, and for many other reasons had better have been let alone than published.

First, Because it tends to the decrease and reproach of all religion whatever, and is of the utmost danger to society, to make it a party in political disputes.

Secondly, Because it exhibits a body of men, numbers of whom disavow the publishing political testimonies, as being concerned therein and approvers thereof.

Thirdly, Because it hath a tendency to undo that continental harmony and friendship which yourselves by your late liberal and charitable donations hath lent a hand to establish; and the preservation of which, is of the utmost consequence to us all.

And here without anger or resentment I bid you farewell. Sincerely wishing, that as men and christians, ye may always fully and uninterruptedly enjoy every civil and religious right; and be, in your turn, the means of securing it to others; but that the example which ye have unwisely set, of mingling religion with politics, *may be disavowed and reprobated by every inhabitant of*
AMERICA.

F I N I S.

The following are the remainder of those Additions and Improvements which are added in the body of the new Edition of COMMON SENSE.

Page 64. line 2. from the top, after the paragraph which ends with the word *sterling*, is now added in the new edition.

The first and second editions of this pamphlet were published without the following calculations, which are now given as a proof that the above estimation of the navy is a just one. See *Entick's Naval Hist. introd. page 56.*

The charge of building a ship of each rate, and furnishing her with masts, yards, sails and rigging, together with a proportion of eight months boatwain's and carpenter's sea stores, as calculated by Mr. Burchett, Secretary to the Navy.

For a ship of 100 guns	-	£. 35,553
90	-	29,886
80	-	23,638
70	-	17,785
60	-	14,197
50	-	10,606
40	-	7,558
30	-	5,846
20	-	3,710

And from hence it is easy to sum up the value, or cost rather, of the whole British navy, which in the year 1757, when it was at its greatest glory consisted of the following ships and guns.

9 JU 64

Ships.	Guns.	Cost of one.	Cost of all.
6	100	35,553 £.	213,318 £.
12	90	29,886	358,632
12	80	23,638	283,656
43	70	17,785	764,755
35	60	14,197	496,895
40	50	10,606	424,240
45	40	7,558	340,110
58	20	3,710	215,180
85 Sloops, bombs, and fireships, one with another, at		2,000	170,000
			Cost 3,266,786
Remains for guns			233,214
			Total 3,500,000